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completed, Samoa and Hawaii remaining as almost the last abodes of aboriginal sovereignty. These, it may be said, have been preserved only through the intervention of the United States. All the rest are to-day under the sovereignty of European powers. The same situation is rapidly approaching in Africa.

That the result has been a gain to the material wealth of the world cannot be doubted. Whether, if the methods by which the result has been brought about were faithfully recounted, civilization would have cause for unmingled congratulation, is another question. To the native races, the approach of civilization has frequently meant not only the loss of liberty and property, but also corruption and enfeeblement, if not destruction. Instruction in religion and morality has been more than counteracted by the importation of vice and disease. Firearms and liquor have been staple considerations for the conveyance of land, and the passions of the natives have been fostered for the sake of their despoilment and subjection. Such has been the contribution of civilization to aboriginal peoples, and such is the story of *L'Occupation des territoires sans maître*.

JOHN BASSETT MOORE.

*History of the United States during the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson.* By HENRY ADAMS. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889-90. — 4 volumes, 446, 456, 471, 500 pp.

It is rarely that an opportunity is offered for bestowing unlimited praise upon an historical work that covers eight years of a nation's life, crowded with incident, complicated with delicate entanglements of diplomatic relations and colored by partisan and factional temper. For the four volumes of Mr. Adams's history we have nothing but praise, whether we judge it from its style or from its matter. Mr. Adams's experience as college tutor, as editor of the old *North American Review*, as a biographer, and as a close student of American history, has brought him to the task just completed with faculties trained and specialized for performing it well. His style is clear and spirited, — concise almost to a fault, for at times it approaches baldness. His judgment is excellent; the thread of the narrative is never broken; there is no padding with digressions — no striving after effect; and he shows a complete mastery of his subject, — a mastery all the more noticeable from the absence of partisanship.

Jefferson is displayed in these volumes as he has never been displayed before, and yet only such material is used as is furnished by Jefferson himself. This in itself is an achievement of no small difficulty, for few writers — and Jefferson committed everything to paper — were so

full of contradictions and inconsistency. As Mr. Adams himself says : "Jefferson could be painted only touch by touch, with a fine pencil, and the perfection of the likeness depended upon the shifting and uncertain flicker of its semi-transparent shadows." It is only by following the man almost day by day that a true picture of his character can be drawn, and in this lies what may be called the one weak point in Mr. Adams's work. For Jefferson became President after a schooling in Revolutionary days, under the Confederation and in Washington's cabinet. He assumed power with fully developed political beliefs, intent upon beginning a new political era, and with a following that he had carefully nursed into a party which looked to him as its leader. In the eight years of his presidency he abandoned one by one his most cherished doctrines, sacrificed some of his warmest supporters, produced dissensions in his party, and accepted diplomatic insults and defeats with the calm resignation of an Eastern fatalist. Mr. Adams has described all of this with a master's hand ; but it is a matter for regret that he could not also have described with as great minuteness the development of Jefferson's beliefs prior to his election. This is touched upon in certain cases, but the picture is still incomplete.

It would be impossible to notice the many interesting points raised by Mr. Adams, whether of domestic policy or of foreign relations. Jefferson's cabinet was dominated by the influence of Gallatin, who appears as the balance wheel of the administrative machinery. Madison was too much like Jefferson to offer much obstruction to his curious theories ; and had the two men been allowed to work their will, unrestrained by the close economy and hard sense of Gallatin, the administration would have become even more conspicuous than it was for its blunders. It did not escape serious accidents. In his first message Jefferson began his career as a Federalist, and the responsibilities of power seem to have postponed indefinitely the political revolution he had promised to inaugurate. At first this wandering from the paths of Republicanism gave occasion to nothing but comment ; but as step by step the chosen leader of the people led his following into the Federalist camp, sacrificing his own record to do it, a stout opposition appeared in his own party, headed by John Randolph. Jefferson, however, was too strong for his adversaries. The failure to impeach Chase, the implication in the conspiracy of Burr and Wilkinson, and the stupid blunder of the embargo, were certainly not calculated to inspire confidence in the sober judgment of the President. Yet he could afford to laugh as heartily at the assaults of Randolph as he did at the attempt of the extreme Federalists to divide the Union. It was the success of Gallatin's finance that overshadowed all the failures in domestic policy.

The good fortune of Jefferson in foreign relations again has kindly

cloaked his shortcomings. The archives of France, England and Spain have supplied Mr. Adams with much new and valuable material, and in describing the course of European diplomacy his admirable style and method are conspicuous. Here are developed the important part that San Domingo played in the safety of the United States, the many and generally selfish vacillations of the French and Spanish courts, seeking to use the emissaries of Jefferson as tools for their own purposes, the coquetting of the powers with one another to keep the United States in suspense and inactivity, and the complete failure of Jefferson's cabinet to meet the exigency with an honest and fearless policy. The ministers and agents of Jefferson were defeated in France, in Spain and in Great Britain; while the ministers of these powers at Washington had many things to complain of, and not the least of them was their inability to understand the President and his Secretary of State. The letters of these representatives are very curious, and the well-known incident of the heelless slippers gives an opportunity for one of the touches of humor that occasionally add zest to Mr. Adams's pages. The author thinks that it would have been better for Madison to notify Merry beforehand that he would not be expected to wear full dress; "in that case the British minister might have complimented Jefferson by himself appearing in slippers without heels."

The crowning success of Jefferson's foreign policy, which served to blind the people to the many defeats it sustained, was the purchase and annexation of Louisiana. This was due rather to the military necessities of Napoleon than to the diplomacy of Jefferson's agents, but the success was none the less brilliant. Nor was the effect upon Jefferson's political creed the less startling.

Within three years of his inauguration Jefferson bought a foreign colony without its consent and against its will, annexed it to the United States by an act which he said made blank paper of the constitution; and then he who had found his predecessors too monarchical, and the constitution too liberal in powers, — he who had nearly dissolved the bonds of society rather than allow his predecessor to order a dangerous alien out of the country in a time of threatened war, — made himself monarch of the new territory and wielded over it, against its protests, the powers of its old kings. [II. 130.]

The purchase of Louisiana was accomplished when Jefferson was in full tide of popularity. The second term of his presidency can show little but failures of policy. The Burr conspiracy and the commercial hostility of England are the leading features. The one ended in a collapse that barely saved the President from a very embarrassing complication; the other ended in a temporary blunder, but eventually in the war of 1812. The attempt of Jefferson to "entail" his policy on his chosen successor, Madison, was successfully accomplished, but

at the expense of Monroe, and, indeed, of the country; for the entanglement of our relations with England, due to Jefferson's wish for universal peace, could only be resolved by war. "Peaceable coercion," when employed on such powers as England and France, was the quintessence of impotency, and the means used, the embargo, on which must rest Jefferson's reputation as a "philosophic legislator," only proved this fact. Jefferson retired from office fully conscious that his popularity had been severely injured, and that he had bequeathed to Madison the many perplexities and dangers that his well-meant though mistaken policy had produced. As Randolph said: "Never has there been any administration which went out of office and left the nation in a state so deplorable and calamitous."

In this work we have for the first time a full-length portrait of Jefferson, drawn by a master hand; and it is to be hoped that the welcome given so deservedly to these volumes will induce Mr. Adams to continue the work. It would be difficult to find an American history that can approach it in completeness and in judicial tone.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

*John Jay.* By GEORGE PELLEW. [American Statesmen Series.] Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1890. — 12mo, 374 pp.

The first chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States was born in New York city in 1745, was educated at King's College, was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-three, and married into the Livingston family in 1774. Immediately after his marriage he entered public life as a member of the committee of fifty chosen by the citizens of New York to consider the means necessary for repelling the British taxation measures of that period. He became the presiding officer of Congress under the Confederation; went upon an unsuccessful mission to the court of Spain; was one of the negotiators of peace at the close of the Revolution, and finally was offered by Washington the choice of appointments in the gift of the President. That he elected to be the head of the federal judiciary is a significant comment upon the new system about to be inaugurated, and must have been, as we look upon it at this distance of time, a favorable augury for the third department of government then first to be established.

Jay was twenty-eight years old when he first accepted public office; for twenty-eight years he served his state and country; and then for a third period of twenty-eight years he remained entirely in private life. To the first and third of these periods the present volume devotes but fifty pages all told, while over three hundred are given up to the acts